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THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

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THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingué*.

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrua* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

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131 175 western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the [361] Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.,), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinakin* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tieté River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

101 131 175 Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatín* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatín;* on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taioba.* Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang,* or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí,* were scattered among the *Guaraní.*

[648] In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatín,* were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú,* a Chaco tribe.

101 **Modern Guaraní tribes.**—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Cainguá* (*Kaa-thuna, Kaingua, Cayuá, Montesei*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

131 175 About 1800, the *Cainguá* (*Caagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Iguatemí River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejuí-guazú (Jejuí) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

The *Cainguá* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carima* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Taruma* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

101 131 175 The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Pirá-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* should not be confused with the ancient

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Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

Modern *Cainguá* (*Caaiguá*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbuiha, Ava-mbihá, Caayguá, Apyterí, Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Cainguá*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuá-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocaí River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Paĩ* (*Terenõhẽ*), who live north of the Jejui-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Cainguá* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuva* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Cainguá* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemí River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemí River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guazú, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahí River. The *Tañyguá*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemí River (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

101 131 167 175 [162]

The ancient habitat of the *Oguauiva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauiva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

[162]

The other *Cainguá* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Cheiru*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemí; the *Avahuguai*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupaynã River (Mato Grosso); the *Yvytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catanduva Jatahy*, in the same State.

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The *Apapocuva*, *Tañyguá*, *Oguauiva*, and *Cheiru* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Avahuguai*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yvytyiguá*, *Avachiripá*, and

[1] There are also *Cheiru* in Paraguay near the Guaira Falls.

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101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo*
[300] because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayakí* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[241]

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[241] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

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ARCHEOLOGY OF THE GUARANÍ AREA

Many archeological finds have been made in the area formerly inhabited by the *Guaraní*, but only a few systematic investigations have ever been undertaken of ancient sites or cemeteries. The attribution of some of the remains unearthed in former *Guaraní* territory is often uncertain because the *Guaraní* seem to have been late comers in the regions where we find them in the 16th century. They were preceded by people of different prehistoric cultures, some of which, such as the *Caingang*, have survived up to the present. The main problems center around classification of stone implements, which cannot always be easily distinguished from those produced by the early non-*Guaraní* population. Pottery, however, leaves little or no margin for doubt. The aboriginal occupants of Paraguay or southern Brazil had either no ceramics or else only a very crude ware. *Guaraní* ware presents the following features: A corrugated decoration produced by thumb impressions on the soft clay, linear designs in red and black on a whitish background, and the use of large conical chicha jars as funeral urns (pls. 11, 12).

There is a striking resemblance between the pottery of the ancient *Tupinamba* of the coast (Netto, 1885; Ihering, 1904) and that of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. The modern *Chiriguano*, descendants of *Guaraní* invaders from Paraguay, still make chicha jars almost identical in shape and decoration to those which are so often unearthed in their home country. Moreover, typical *Guaraní* vases have been found associated with rosin labrets, a lip ornament still worn by modern *Caingué*.

Direct, or primary, urn burial was the usual form of interment among the *Guaraní* and persists among the *Chiriguano* of Bolivia. Archeology has amply confirmed the statements of early writers. The corpse was forced with the limbs flexed into a jar and covered with another vessel.

Ihering (1895, 1904), Mayntzhusen (1912), Ullrich (1906), Kunert (1890, 1891, 1892), Kunike (1911), Meyer (1896), Ambrosetti (1895 b), Vellard (1934), and Linné (1936) have described isolated finds. Max Schmidt (1932) has given a list of recent discoveries and has attempted to make a classification of the rich archeological material in the Museum of Asunción. Pottery of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin has been collected on the islands of the Paraná Delta (pl. 11, *top, center*). They have been published and discussed by L. M. Torres (1913) and Outes (1917, 1918). Lothrop (1932, pp. 122-146) has given us a careful description of the results of his investigation in a *Guaraní* cemetery at Arroyo Malo, a small tributary of the Luján River, east of El Tigre, in the Province of Buenos Aires. Serrano (1936) has dealt with *Guaraní* archeology in connection with his study of the ancient native cultures of Uruguay.

The ware found in areas historically occupied by *Guaraní* tribes consists mainly of funeral urns, large plates or vessels used as lids for these urns, and some pots which formed part of the funerary equipment.

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172 Funeral urns, which originally were chicha jars, are of two main types: (1) those decorated on the upper part with rows of corrugated impressions or markings produced either with the fingers or with a stick, and (2) painted ones.

The urns of the first category usually have a conical shape with a bulging upper part and a low outflaring or direct rim (pl. 11, *bottom, left*). Those of the second type are usually biconical with a flat or rounded bottom and a direct rim which often presents a median ridge (pl. 12, *a*). The height of the urns normally varies between 40 to 70 cm. (16 to 28 in.) and their diameter between 46 to 76 cm. (19 to 50 in.). A few specimens are one meter (3 ft.) high.

Smaller vessels are (1) undecorated, (2) covered on their entire outer surface by fingernail marks (pl. 11), (3) painted (pl. 12), and (4) painted on the inside and decorated with fingernail marks or corrugated impressions on the outside.

Several nail-incised vessels were found by Ambrosetti (1895 b) on the Alto Paraná and by Lothrop (1932, pp. 134–135) at Arroyo Malo, near Buenos Aires, and at Paraná-Guazú.

Most of the specimens of small ware known up to the present are shallow bowls, or bowls with inverted rims. Some painted specimens have a characteristic biconical shape with a flat bottom. A few globular pots with outflaring rims seem to have been used in cooking. A single specimen with a tubular neck has been published by Vellard (1934, fig. 8, *3*).

Some of the funeral urns and wide bowls found by Lothrop at Arroyo Malo are covered with a grayish slip and are adorned with red paint on the exterior.

The decoration of the polychrome urns and bowls consists generally of red lines on a whitish background, but sometimes white patterns have been traced on a red background. Often the red designs are underscored by black strokes or bordered by incisions. On a few specimens coarse red patterns have been applied directly on the surface of the vessel. The motifs are always geometrical. They may be described as sigmoid curves, labyrinths, Greek frets, and elaborations of the chevron. A few vessels are decorated with plain red bands on a white background.

Many urns show on their lower portions striations resulting from the use of corn husks in the smoothing process.

Guaraní vessels are, as a rule, without handles, though, according to Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 465), they may occur in a few instances. Some vessels were suspended through holes in the rim or through lateral prominences.

At Arroyo Malo were found some clay "hemispheres," or lumps decorated with incised patterns. Lothrop (1932, p. 143) calls them fire

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dogs, that is to say, supports for pots, a hypothesis completely unconfirmed. No object of that type has been found in any other *Guaraní* region. 172

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguano*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European yerba maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to *Guaraní* culture as known through archeology. [415] [171]

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 463) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple neolithic stone axes without any groove have been found in *Guaraní* sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Lothrop (1932, p. 145) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a *Guaraní* weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the *Guaraní* of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulae, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigenes of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Rio de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solis expedition obtained from the *Guaraní* and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the *Inca* Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of *Guaraní* had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chané* along the *Inca* frontier and even attacked tribes directly under *Inca* rule. Some of these *Guaraní* bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent covetousness. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado. 175 648 [316]

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

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rica" was obtained by Alejo García, who, with a few other white men, joined a *Guaraní* raid against the *Inca* border. He wrote of his discovery to his companions who had remained in Santa Catarina. When Sebastian Cabot landed at Pernambuco in 1526, he had been told of gold and silver in the region of the Rio de la Plata. Later, in Santa Catarina he obtained more detailed information from Alejo García's companions and heard that "near the sierra there was a white king, dressed like a Spaniard," and that García and his companions had seen mines and had spoken with the Indians who lived near the sierra and "wore silver crowns on their heads and gold plates hanging from their necks and ears and attached around their belts." With his letter, García had sent specimens of the metal. Convinced that they had reached El Dorado, Sebastian Cabot abandoned his intended journey to the East Indies and decided to ascend the Rio de la Plata, where he was assured he could "load a ship with gold and silver." Cabot sailed the Paraná and then the Paraguay River to its junction with the Pilcomayo River. Ramirez, in his famous letter recounting the Cabot expedition, says that, "the *Guaraní* Indians of the region of Santa Ana wear many ear pendants and pendants of gold and silver," and that a brigantine's crew saw the same things somewhat upstream. Through an interpreter, the Spaniards learned that the *Chandule*, who were Indians of the same tribe living 180 miles (60 leagues) up the Paraguay River, "traded gold to the Guaraní for beads and canoes." The *Chandule*, who were probably the *Guaraní* of the region of Itatí, had much metal, "according to the Indians, because women and children went from their settlements to the mountain and brought back the aforesaid metal" (Ramírez *in* Medina, J. T., 1908, p. 456).

The Cabot expedition was a failure, but the reports about the Sierra de la Plata, the *Caracara* Indians (i.e., the *Quechua* Indians of Charcas), and the silver and gold of the *Guaraní* were avidly received by the Spaniards and led to the expedition of Adelantado Pedro de Mendoza. In 1536, Mendoza sent Juan de Ayolas up the Paraguay River to find a route to the land of the *Caracara*. Ayolas ascended the Paraguay River to the Port of Candelaria, at lat. 19° S., whence, led by a former slave of García, he crossed the Chaco through the land of the *Mbayá*, and reached the *Caracara*. Like Alejo García, he returned "with 20 loads of gold and silver," but, on reaching the Paraguay River, he and his companions were massacred by the *Payagua* Indians (1538). A year earlier, Juan de Salazar de Espinosa had founded the city of Asunción. The *Carió* (*Guaraní*), who understood the aim of the Spaniards and who hoped to make them allies in their raids, were extremely friendly to the Spaniards, and provided them with food and women. Henceforth, the *Guaraní* served as auxiliaries and porters in all Spanish expeditions, whether to the Chaco or to the Andes. When Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca fought the *Mbayá-Guaicurú* in 1542, he was assisted by 10,000

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Guaraní, who gathered at Tapuá. Two thousand *Guaraní* accompanied Domingo de Irala in 1548 and even more followed Nufrio de Chaves in 1558. 175 648

The *Guaraní* later resisted the ruthless exploitation of which they were victims (for example, the revolts of Tabaré and Guarambaré), but they lacked the determination and unity shown by other tribes so that their revolts were easily crushed. Later *Guaraní* rebellions were often led by native messiahs, the most famous of whom was Obera (end of the 16th century), who promised the Indians supernatural support and convinced them that the happiness of native times would be restored after the final expulsion of the White men. [669]

From the outset, the conquistadors, like the European colonists on the coast of Brazil, were strongly attracted by the beauty of the *Guaraní* women—who readily yielded to their solicitations—and took native wives or mistresses. As some of these were daughters and sisters of local chiefs, the alliances proved useful to the Spaniards, for the Indians felt obliged to support and serve their new relatives. The Spaniards lived scattered in small ranches around Asunción, surrounded by harems (some with 20 to 30 women), and by their wives' relatives.

The young colony came to consist of a rapidly growing Mestizo population, without which it would have been abandoned soon after the Conquest of Perú. The system of encomiendas, introduced in the middle of the 16th century, had the usual dire effects on the native population. Forced to work for their masters and often ill-treated, the Indians died by the thousands. At the end of the 16th century, there remained within a radius of 21 miles (7 leagues) around Asunción, only 3,000 Indians. The region of Tapuá, north of Asunción, which had been covered with ranches, was practically abandoned. The disappearance of the natives, however, was compensated by the constant increase of the Mestizos, or "mancebos de la tierra," whose lawlessness is often stressed by Spanish chroniclers. These descendants of early Spaniards and *Guaraní* form the main element in the million or so people of modern Paraguay, so that their language is still spoken in rural Paraguay, in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and in the State of Corrientes. Even in cities, such as Asunción, part of the population still uses the language of their *Guaraní* ancestors.

The missions.—Unlike the *Guaraní* under the Spanish encomiendas, that portion of the tribe which occupied the upper Paraná River and the Uruguay River basin was subject to Jesuit missions for about two centuries (1608–1767). Their post-Conquest history, therefore, is identical with that of the missions. The first Jesuits (Juan Solano, Manuel de Ortega, and Tomas Filds) arrived in Asunción in 1588. Two of these fathers went to the region of El Guairá, a territory defined on the west by the Paraná River, on the north by the Tieté River, on the south by the Iguassú 175 648 797

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River, and in the east by a vague line drawn by the treaty of Tordesillas. Here, the Spaniards had founded two cities, Ciudad real del Guairá (1554) and Villarica. The two Jesuits visited numerous Indian villages, baptizing children and moribunds, but they did not establish any permanent mission. In 1609, the King of Spain, at the request of Hernandarias de Saavedra, Governor of Paraguay, granted the Jesuits permission to conquer the 150,000 *Guaraní* Indians of El Guairá, by "means of doctrines and by the preaching of the Gospel."

The first Jesuit mission in Paraguay was San Ignacio Guazú, founded north of the Paraná River, but the first establishments of El Guairá (Nuestra Señora de Loreto and San Ignacio-mirí on the Pirapo River), which were to become so prosperous, were created in 1610 by Fathers José Cataldino and Simon Maceta. The apostle of the *Guairá* was the famous Antonio Ruíz de Montoya, founder of 11 missions between 1622 and 1629 and author of the great classic of *Guaraní* language, the "Arte, vocabulario, tesoro de la lengua Guaraní" (1876). In another book, "Conquista espiritual . . . del Paraguay" (1892), he reports his adventures and successes and the ruin of the missions. In 1630, the flourishing missions of El Guairá were destroyed by the raids of slave hunters from São Paulo, the dreaded mamelucos, who attacked the missions and captured all whom they did not slaughter. In a few years, they are said to have killed or enslaved 300,000 *Guaraní* Indians. From 1628 to 1630 they took 60,000 Indians from the Jesuit missions to São Paulo. In 1631 Ruíz de Montoya evacuated Loreto and San Ignacio, the two last missions to survive in El Guairá, and took the people in a heroic anabasis from El Guairá to the Paraná River. Twelve thousand Indians began this forced migration but only 4,000 survived its vicissitudes.

The northern territory of the *Guaraní*, between the Paraguay, Mbotetey (Miranda), and Jejui-guazú Rivers and the Sierra de Amambay, was called the Province of Itatin after one of its local *Guaraní* subtribes. The Jesuits founded four missions here in 1631, but in 1632 these were all destroyed by the mamelucos from São Paulo. Later, two new missions were founded in the same area.

The same year the Jesuits entered the mountainous region in the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul, which forms the divide between the basins of the Uruguay and the Jacui Rivers. This was formerly called Tapé, but today only a branch of the mountain system is known as Sierra de los Tapes; the remainder is known as Sierra de San Martín and Cuchilla Grande. From 1632 to 1635, the Jesuits founded 10 "reducciones" here. The renewed assaults of the mamelucos in 1638 forced the Jesuits to evacuate the missions of Tapé, a region that was forever lost to Portugal. After these last inroads, the *Guaraní* Indians received guns and, on two occasions—at Caazapá-guazú and at Mbororé (1639 and 1640)—they defeated the mamelucos. From 1687 to 1707, eight new missions were

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founded which, together with the others, formed the 30 cities of the so-called "Paraguayan State of the Jesuits."

The Jesuit expansion was resisted by certain *Guaraní* shamans, chiefs, and especially messiahs, who seem to have been very numerous in this period of hardship and misery. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were persecuted by the encomenderos, who could not tolerate the loss of so many Indians to the missionaries. The southern missions of Yapeyú and La Cruz were often molested by the incursions of the *Yaró*, *Mbohane*, *Minuane*, and *Charrua* Indians. Several expeditions of *Guaraní* were led by Spanish officers against these wild tribes.

The first blow to the Jesuits was the treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal, by which Philip VI yielded to Portugal seven Jesuit missions on the eastern side of the Uruguay River (San Borja, San Nicolas, San Luís, San Lorenzo, Santo Angel, San Miguel, and San Juan) in exchange for the colony of Sacramento. The Indians refused to abandon their villages and resisted by arms the forced expulsion. Both Spain and Portugal had to send armies, which defeated the Indians in 1756. Three years later, the Tratado de Límites was abrogated and the seven towns were returned to the Jesuits, but in the meantime they had been partially destroyed and the Indian population, estimated at 30,000 a few years before, had considerably decreased.

The year 1767, when all Jesuits were expelled from South America, is a fateful date in the history of the South American Indians. The Indians who had been under Jesuit rule dwindled or disappeared altogether. Tribes left their missions to return to the bush; Indians in Jesuit colonies reverted to barbarism and regions previously explored again became geographical blanks on the map.

The new charter which Don Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursua drafted for the missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits differed from the previous system only in minor points. The so-called communistic feature of the Jesuit regime and the restrictions on commerce were maintained, but none of the more progressive aspects of the plan, such as the foundation of a University, were ever applied. Control of the missions was given to Franciscans, assisted by lay administrators. The results were baleful. The missions were invaded by colonists who robbed the Indians of their lands and destroyed the cattle and maté plantations. The fields were abandoned and the handicrafts forgotten through lack of teachers. The Indians were forced to work for the Whites and were victimized by the local authorities. Many continued to live on their plantations but others returned to the forests. Those who remained in the missions were completely demoralized by alcoholism and the bad example of the colonists. The wars of independence and the later national wars completed the decadence and the ruin of the missions. In 1801 the seven towns in Uruguay were given back to Portugal; in 1817 the

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175 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of
648 the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay
797 Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps
178 superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingud*, who are said to be
[483] unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the
[362] *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild
[71] fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul-[412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingud* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingud* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingud* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingud* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

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eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Caingué* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[3]) is part of *Caingué* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood. [231] [262] [231]

Hunting.—Because the *Caingué* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Caingué* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars. 224 [262] [231]

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204). 226 178 [433]

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals. 231 178

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Caingué* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Caingué* specialty. 262 252 [178]

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Caingué* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Caingué* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water. 252 [178]

[3] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Streinicher.

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They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

Caingué do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

Household furniture.—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

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influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

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501 [171] rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 [285] **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark [171] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin [178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 854 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 [824] [531] **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembó strands. They are ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 [824] **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 [293] [531] [386] [824] [178] [177] Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

323 178 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 824 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Patagonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

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or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingud:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingud* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Caingud clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingud* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

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178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
118 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine namesake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
553 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp.
851 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

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Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction.

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law.

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal.

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul.

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk.

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the

[4] Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: "... muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estos... sus almas ocupadas el alma aunque estas tinajas los enterraban hasta el cuello."

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The Caingua of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingud*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the *Caingud* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played

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games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century.

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances.

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments.

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments.

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire.

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest.

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong.

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Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live
[773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have
776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú,
772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he
776 782 771 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to
[784] [791] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder.
[824] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or
[821] [784] [782] [797] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ'*). A stock of traditional prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention,
[787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power
[756] from them.

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[P. 90-A]

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PLATE 11.—**Fingernail-marked Guaraní ware.** *Top:* Sherds from Martín García, Argentina. *Center:* Vessels from Arroyo Malo, Paraná Delta. *Bottom:* Vessels from Paraguay. Funerary urn at left. (*Top*, after Bruzzone, 1931; *center*, after Lothrop, 1932; *bottom*, courtesy Max Schmidt.)

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Apapocuva

[P 90-B]

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a

b

c

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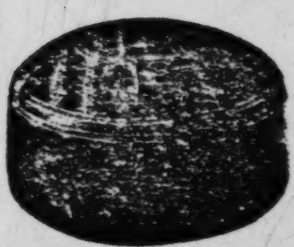

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PLATE 12.— **Guaraní and other pottery from Paraguay.** *a*, *b*, Painted; *c*, plain; *d*, *e*, probably *Mbayá-Guana* incised ware. (Courtesy Max Schmidt.)

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Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305).

The *Caingué* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful.

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347).

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia.

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Caingué* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã.

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

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Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies.

In a *Paĩ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea.

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother.

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guaraní*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37).

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guaraní* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule

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and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanygud*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

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